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WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY

OMER C. STEWART

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PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

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WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY
OMER C. STEWART

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Peyote Plant

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

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Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{13}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_3N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychnine-like and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

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The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140. [2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shoule thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[6] Beals, 1932, 216.

[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shoule, 1925, 59.

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

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The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[a]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[b] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[a] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[b] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

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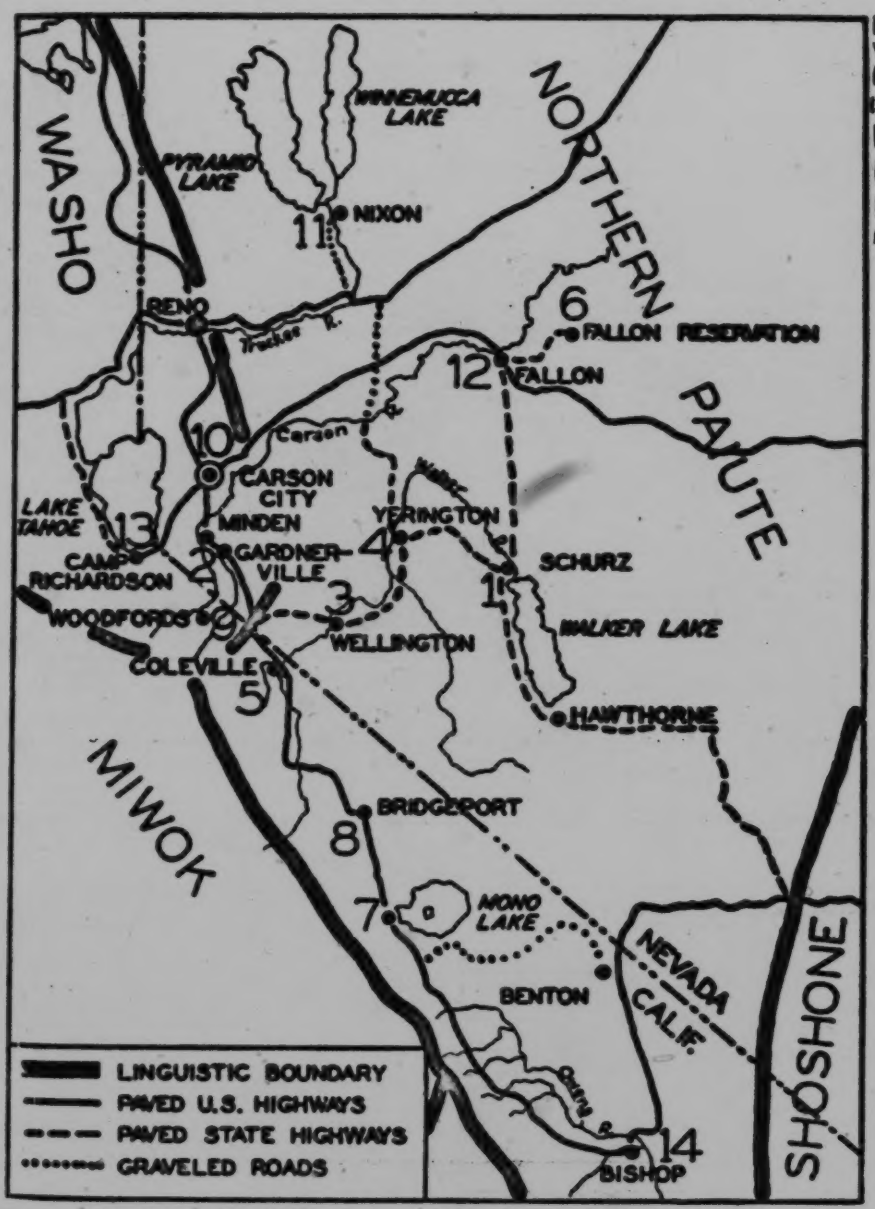

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Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

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N That five or six years
114 may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely
175 is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed
*795 to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out
W the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native
114 institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is
*795 perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From
N the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were
W sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary
124 to go beyond a cultural analysis.

*795 It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

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177 The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute In-
*795 dians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

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peyote,"[9] most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experience with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[10] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meetings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who befriended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[11] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin) (Ute,2), the second to hold meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement.

Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[12] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

[9] La Barre, 1938, 120, fn. 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[10] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[11] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[12] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

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N W 177 *795 Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

1936 Proselyter Ben Lancaster

N W 159 *795 797 The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stage-coach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[11] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

[11] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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When the Walker River Reservation was opened for mineral claims in 1907, he was there looking for ore. After mining or prospecting "in every mineral district in Nevada," he caught an east-bound freight train in 1916. He worked in Bingham Canyon, Utah, and, during the war, in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Working for Armour and Company in Omaha, "busting bronchos" near Red Rock, Oklahoma (1919), and bootlegging whiskey in Hot Springs, Arkansas, were a few of Ben's experiences before 1921 when he got a job as a farm hand near Clinton, Oklahoma, and attended a Cheyenne peyote meeting, his first.

Shortly after this, he began "traveling for a medicine company"; and for the next ten years, letting his hair grow and sporting a fancy feather headdress and beaded buckskin clothes, he trekked over the United States selling "Chief Gray Horse's Indian Herbs, a natural laxative." Although he claimed he advertised the medicine for Baker Chemical Company, Cincinnati, and sold it only to stores, he is known widely in Oklahoma as an herb-medicine salesman.[8] He sold his few remaining boxes of medicine to his Nevada converts to peyotism at the regular price of $1.00. The package contained an ounce or two of dry ground "cascara, mandrake, polk root, gentian, uva ursi, licorice, wild cherry, senna, and other herbs," a medicine "strictly botanical," prepared by "Chief Gray Horse Remedy Company, Cincinnati, Ohio."[9] "Hoover's depression," he said, "put me out of business; then I started drifting and getting odd jobs wherever I could."

Ben spent each Christmas with his Cheyenne peyotist friends. Johnny Wright met him there in 1930, and in 1932 he (Johnny) heard that Ben was selling herbs and was married to a white woman who had a restaurant in Lawton, Oklahoma. (Ben refused to confirm this marriage, but Carnegie Smokey [W,2] lived with Ben and his white wife, Sylvia Gray Horse, after he followed Ben to Texas, January, 1938.)[10]

In 1930 Ben told Johnny that he would take peyote to his people in 1932, but he was delayed until 1936. His plans to proselyte among the Washo and the Northern Paiute were secret. "I had cut and dried peyote near Sanderson, Texas, to bring to the Washo," he said, "for I knew these Indians needed it." Near Phoenix, Arizona, he added a cactus staff to the ritual equipment he had obtained in Oklahoma. He conducted his first meeting at Randlett, Utah, for the Ute Indians. At Ibapah, Utah, he held one for the Goshute. About the first of October, 1936, he arrived in Minden, Nevada, where he lived with his "aunt," Susie Dick, and his "cousin," Sam Dick.

For a week or two, he spent most of his time sitting on the curb at Gardnerville, causing quite a stir with his hair bound in colored wrappings falling over his shoulders and his beaded vest, and greeting old friends and acquaintances, both Indian and white. Nothing was said about peyote during that time, and one Indian girl told me she got drunk with him.

[8] This is confirmed by letters from the superintendents of the Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies, from the secretary and treasurer of the Native American Church, from a Kiowa and an Oto in Oklahoma, and by Johnny Wright.

[9] I saw several boxes and obtained from one its folded leaflet containing this information.

[10] In a letter dated September 26, 1938, the present officials of the Native American Church (the incorporated Indian peyote church) denied any knowledge of Ben's membership in their church. That Ben went to peyote meetings in Oklahoma frequently enough to be considered a member of the Native American Church is confirmed in a letter to me dated December 3, 1938, from Mack Haag (Cheyenne), of Calumet, Oklahoma, former president of the church. He wrote that Ben was a member, had attended many meetings, and was well qualified to start the church in Nevada, although he did not know that Ben had done so.

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Converts among Washo and Northern Paiute

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

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Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doe (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doe there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doe's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doe was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[29] The In-

[29] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[19] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

[19] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Coleville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Sehurs meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[a] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[b] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[a] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[b] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[77] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[77] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[a] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

[a] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[3] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[4] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[5]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[3] La Barre, 61.

[4] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[5] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[*] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[*] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[46] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[47] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[46] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[47] This petition, in the Carson Ageney file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[48] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time.[3] Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult.[4] This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

[2] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[3] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[4] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[5] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

" The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

" See Appendix III for statistics.

" Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

" Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring ... in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy."

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals." Except when persistently

[a] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[b] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings." Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction." For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue." Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains."

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped." The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

" U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

" Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

" My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

" Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

" La Barre, 72.

" Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[11] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[12] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[13] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[14]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[11] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[12] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[13] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[14] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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Washo NT20

with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

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Washo NT20

complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism."

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipō that they use down south."[c]

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents."

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

[a] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[b] Muipō might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[c] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ref. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

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Washo NT20

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration." Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of a new type of living."[3] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[3] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[4] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[9] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it."[10] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[11] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[9] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[10] Tom Garth, field notes.
[11] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quanah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[b] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[c] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[a] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[a] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[b] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[c] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

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return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus."

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[9] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

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between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

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APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[a] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[b] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[c] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[a] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[b] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[c] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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Washo NT20

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[20]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[21] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

[20] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[21] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

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with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

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APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[a] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

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Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spyhack. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[a] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NM12
Comanche NO6

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De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women ... 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 267a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Winnebago NR12
Crow NR10

127
128
795
C
127
128
795
080

a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 265a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

Peyote Element Distribution List

Element	Occurrence																
	HT	E-A	Ka	Com	Ka	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WRS	Dia	Cos	W-P	Taos
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(−)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		−	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	−	(+)	−	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche NO6

N
W 171
534
795*
796

C 171
534
795
796

Element	Occurrence																
	U.T	K-A	Kb	Com	Ks	Ah.S	Da.1	Da.2	Wa.	No.C	Cr.1	Cr.2	Wi.B	Uta	Gos	W-P	Taos
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

C 171
D 795
W 796
[534]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
N W 171 *795 796 [534] [279]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																			
	H T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab s	Del	Do s	Win	No C	Cr t	Cr s	Wi S	Ute	Gos	P-W	Tom			
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+			
36. Pottery jar	°+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	+			
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	°+		+	°+	+	+			
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	(+)	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	°+	−	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
43. Star significant	+	+	+			°(+)					°+	°+	+	°+	°+	+	+			
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+			
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+			
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−			
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		°−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+			
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	−	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
55. Usually by cedarman	+	°−	+	+	+	°−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+			
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	°−	−	+			
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−°(+)		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+			
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	°+	+	−	+	−	+			

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Delaware NM7
C D 171 795 796 [534] [276] [A]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	Li-T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-F	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
C W 171 P95 P46 [534] [276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																			
	LIT	E-A	Eto	Com	Eto	Ath	Dei	Dei	Win	Nav	Cri	Cr	Wah	Uto	Ute	Ute	Tew
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		+	–	–		+			
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+		+	+				+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+		+	+		•–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–•(+)		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

Element	Occurrence																									
	TMC	WP	CRO	PAI	WAS	CHO	NEW	DAN	WIN	DRE	DAV	KEL	ELK	COO	KEN	WAS	ELK	DAV	KEL	DRE	WIN	DAN	NEW	CHO	WAS	PAI
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	+(+)	−	(+)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
78. 3 assistants		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Ges	W-P	Tass
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	*+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	*(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	*–	–	–	–	–	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
69. Form cross	+	*+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	*+	*+	+		–	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		*+	+		(+)	*–	+	*+	–		+	*–	*–	+	*(+)	*–	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	*+	+	(+)	*+	*+	*+		+	+	*+	*+	+	*	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		–	*–	–	–	+	+	*+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		*+	*–	–	*+	*–	*–	*+	–	*–	*–
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	*+	+	–	*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	*–	*–	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	

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Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	*+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	*(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	*+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	*+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	*+	*+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		*+	+		(+)	*−	+	*+	−		+	*−	*−	+	*(+)	*−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	*+	+	(+)	*+	*+	*+		+	+	*+	*+	+	*	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	*−	−	−	+	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		*+	*−	−	*+	*−	*−	*+	−	*−	*−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	*+	+	−	*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	*−	*−	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Ogl	Kw	Kio	Com	Klo	Alt	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	Ho C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Ute	Cha	Gro	Tew
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–	–	+	•	•	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•–	–	(–)	•	•	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+	+	•(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	+	(–)	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

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[783]
[778]

108[A] *University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.*

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	Ut T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
94. All baths before attending meeting	+	+	•+	−		(−)		•−		•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+		+
96. In open			•−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		−	•+	−		+	+	+		−	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•−	(−)	+	•−	•−	−	•−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	•−
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	•−
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(−)		−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+		−	+	−		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	(+)		−		+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	(−)	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•−	•+	+	−	−	

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ft Y	E-A	Kla	Com	Kla	Ash	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Dia	Gos	F-P	Tim		
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+			
122. Women sit behind men		−	+	−	°−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+			
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	++		
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	°+	+	+	+			
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	−	−			
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+++		
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+			
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	°+	°+	+	+		−			
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	°−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+			
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+			
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+			
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	°−	+	+	+	+			
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−				+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	°+	+	+	−	°−	+			+	+	+	°+	+	+	+			
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	°+	°+	+	+	−				−	°+	+	°+	+	+	+			
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		°+	+	(−)	−				−	°+	+	+	+	+	+			
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+			
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
147. Cedar-man throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	°+	+	−		−	+	°−	+	+	°+	+			
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	°+	+			
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	°−	+	+	+			
150. Worshippers incensed	+	°+	+	−			+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		

(Continued on next page)

N W

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	UT	E-A	Eb	Com	Ek	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	NoC	Cr 1	Cr 2	WBS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

Co Cr D W
171 795 796 [276] [783]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
NW 171 Ref 945 796 [533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	LIT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kin	Abs	Dol	Dor	Wis	Nec	Cri	Cre	Wes	Ow	Cro	Wa-P	Tem
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−		+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+		−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		•	+	+	+		−	+	+	•	+	•	−	+
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	−		+	+	•−	+	−	+	•−	+
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc	+	+	+	+	+	•+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	+
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	•	+	+	−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	−	•−			+	+	•	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Delaware NM7
C D 171 7R5 7R6 [533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Ki	Com	Ka	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wn	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
C
W
171
U85
P46
[53]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																									
	LT	K-A	Ela	Com	Kio	Ab	Del	Del	Wis	Mo	C-1	C-2	Sha	Ute	Cro	M-P	Tom									
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+											+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•	•	•	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
167. 4 sticks added							−	−			(+)	(+)	−													
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•	•	•	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•	•	•	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•	•	•	−	−	−	−	•	•	•	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Element	Occurrence																									
	Tmt.	P-K	Gro	Mo	Wa	Ch	Ne C	Ch	Ch	Wa	Pa	Pa	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Leader incensed upon return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
201. Butt handed to leader		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																					
	Tim	W-P	Gro	Uin	Ute	Sho	Ban	Kio	Wis	Dak	Ara	Cro	Cri	Kio	Wic	Ute	Gos	Uin	Ute	Com	Kio	Ara
181. Water bearer spills water on ground		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
185. Water bearer takes water outside		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
190. Prays to cardinal directions		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
191. Leader incensed upon return		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
192. Replaces whistle near moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−			+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			+	+	(−)	−	−		+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)		+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Water brought in		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. By woman		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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C
D
171
785
796
[276]
[782]

Element	Occurrence																		
	U T	K-A	Ks	Cos	Es	Ab S	Do I	Do S	Wa	No C	Cr I	Cr S	WRB	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tse		
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	–	+		+	+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+		
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	–		+			–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	+		
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+°(+)	+	–	+	+	+	+		
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	°	–	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++	
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°–	°+		+	+	+	+			°(+)	+	–	+°(+)	–	+	–	+	
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+	–		–	–	–		–	(+)	+		°+	–	+	–		
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
197. By women			°+	–	°+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		°+	+		
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(–)	–		°+	–	–	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+		
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	°–	+	–	+	+		–			
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–			
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–			
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(–)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–			
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+		
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	°+	–	+		
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		

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C W
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496
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[1012]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
*795
796
[264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

[A]
14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No6
Winnebago No12
C W 171 795 796 [264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	M-T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
	Occurrence																
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
C D 111 745 746 [264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	H.T.	K-A	Ka	Com	Ka	Ar. B	Dri	Dri	Wa.	Dri	Nav	C-1	C-2	Sta.	Ute	Cro	F-R	Tew.							
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	• –	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+							
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–								–								
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –		+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+							
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –		+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+							
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
215. Order: water, maise, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		• +	• +	• +	• +	–	–	• +	–							
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		• –	–	–	–	–	–	• +	–							
217. Water, maise, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	• +	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
218. Water, maise, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +	–	+							
219. Parched maise in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	+	• +	• +	–	+							
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	• +	–	• +	–		–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+							
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	–		+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+							
222. Wash before eating			–	+	–	–		• +																	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+			+	+	+		• +	• +																
224. Before eating	+			+	–	+		• +	• +																
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	• +																
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		–																
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–																
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	• +		+	• +																
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–																
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+		–																
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+																			
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–																
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–																
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–																
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	• +	+		+		• –	–																
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		• +	–																
236. Sun greeted	+		• –	–	(–)	–																			
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	• +	–	–	(–)	+	+																	
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		• –	• +	+	–	+																			

Element	Occurrence																								
	H-T	K-A	Kio	Cam	Kio	Ash	Del	Del	Win	Mo C	Cr I	Cr S	WRA	Dia	Ono	P-P	Tse								
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+					
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−															
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+								
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+								
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+								
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+		+	+								
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+								
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+								
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+								
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+								
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+								
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+								
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+								
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	+								
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+																	
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+															
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+															
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+															
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−															
265a. (See note)																									

N
W
171
745*
796
[711]
[574]
[276]

Comanche No6
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																								
	H-T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab S	Di 1	Do 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ta	Ge	W-P	Tse								
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+																
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•	+									
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(–)	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+									
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+			+	+	+	+									
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+											
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+											
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+											
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+																	
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	–		–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+											
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
265a. (See note)																									

C
W
111
245
246
[247]
[247]
[247]
[276]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																									
	ST	K-A	Ka	Com	Ka	Ar	Del	Del	Wa	Ow	Ow	C-2	C-1	WRA	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ow	Tam
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−		•−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+		−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	+		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
265a. (See note)																										

C
D 111
D45
D46
E71]
[S74]
276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab 8: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab 8: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab 8: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab 8: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab 8: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab 8: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 171 795 796

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab 8: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab 8: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

C [237]

4. Ab 8: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WR8: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab 8: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WR8: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533]

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab 8: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

D [533]

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WR8: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab 8: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WR8: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534]

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823]

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Winnebago NA12

C W 171 795 796

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab 8: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab 8: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Fraus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab 8: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab 8: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab 8: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab 8: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
795*
796

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kie: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kie: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hun; (2) wɔg"eʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). W [824]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin). W [276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N W 171 *795 796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 60). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

N W [533]

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

N W [783]

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

86. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

C
W
171
745
716
C
[276]

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

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74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 82.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory, not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
795*
796

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C W

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171 795

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 796 W [779]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons). C [291]

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget). C [562]

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon). C [352]

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

NW 171 #795 796

125. Ab 8: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab 8: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab 8: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab 8: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab 8: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab 8: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab 8: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab 8: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NR10
Winnebago NR12

C
W
171
795
796

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). N W 171 795 796

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WR8: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8. N W 276 782

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). D 171 795 796

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WR8: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). D [532]

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kie: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 98). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget). D [276] [782]

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 255a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: D [264]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NF12

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7

C D 171 795 796

Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

D [782]

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

C W 171 795 796 W [264] C [264] Win:

Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

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222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

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227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

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251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
795
796
DDD

284. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

285. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Neon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

285a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meant me drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
795
796

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

520

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ2D
Winnebago NP12

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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103
162
171
484
#795

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

N
W
171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

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4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

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Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
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Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
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(Concluded on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribe—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	139 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NA12
Iroquois NM9

[A] I O D W C 162 171 795

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

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TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATURES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			86 Active	180 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	218	15	11	18	620	281	58	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	6		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			52	1	1	3		24		24		2	26	3			96	58	2	3	159
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			39	18	1		58
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	23	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	404	174	44	32	654
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			59	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			15	25	10	3	21	59

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTZ0

gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 3.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5

OTHER PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

TOTALS OF ALL PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

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Washo NT20

N W 162 171 *795

The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

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Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

N
W
128
795*
602
171

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; ss, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

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Washo NT20
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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, a	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, a	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, a	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	56	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	39	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, c, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, s			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, s			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 s, c			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, c			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 sil			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	36	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	c, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, c
57. Gregory, N.	F	59	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	h			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, sal, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P–(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P–(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s s b	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d			
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss			
86. Walker, C.	M	59	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, s			f, stm, u, s
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s s d
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	59	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	s, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, s			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 s			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 s, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, s, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl, d, 2 ssl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		s			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109. Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, s, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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Abbreviations:

A	Anthropos
AA	American Anthropologist
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH-B	Bulletins
AMNH-M	Memoirs
ASS-P	American Sociological Society, Publications
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE-R	(Annual) Reports
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
DU-CE	Denver University, Contributions to Ethnography
ESS	Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences
HU-BML	Harvard University, Botanical Museum Leaflets
GSA	General Series in Anthropology
I-A	Ibero-Americana
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
JH	Journal of Heredity
JRP	Journal of Religious Psychology
NSHS	Nebraska State Historical Society
NU-SSS	Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin
RMIA	Revista Mexicana de Ingeniería y Arquitectura
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records
UC-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology
YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology

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PLATES

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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PLATE 1

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a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

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b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

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c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

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PLATE 2

a. Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

b. "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

c. Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

d. School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

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PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

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[For detailed information on Washo-Northern Paiute religious acculturation as exemplified by the Peyote cult, see 14: Stewart, NR13 Northern Paiute file.]

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[Detailed information on various aspects of the Washo-Northern Paiute peyote cult will be found in category 116, pp. 64-136.]